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Message Text

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64
ORIGIN PA-02

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 PRS-01 NSC-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00

CCO-00 /024 R

DRAFTED BY PA/M:BROSHCO:JC
APPROVED BY PA/M:WDYESS
S/S -LCJOHNSTONE
DESIRED DISTRIBUTION
PA, S/S, S/PRS
---------- 027248
P 312218Z JUL 75 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

UNCLAS STATE 181231 TOSEC 080226

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, XF, PFOR

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HEREWITH FULL TEXT MARILYN BERGER SECOND PAGE BYLINER TURSDAY, JULY 31, WASHPOST, HEADLINED "KISSINGER OFF GUARD, JORDAN HAWK DEAL TURNS SOUR."

2. ON JULY 9 SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY A. KISSINGER LEFT WASHINGTON FOR A TRIP TO PARIS, GENEVA, BONN AND LONDON. AMONG THE MANY TOP STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ON THE PLANE WERE THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR MIDDLE EASTERN AFFAIRS, HIS DEPUTY, AND THE HEAD OF THE POLICY PLANNING STAFF. UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE JOSEPH J. SISCO, KISSINGER'S TOP MIDDLE EAST SPECIALIST, LEFT THE NEXT DAY TO JOIN THE GROUP IN GENEVA.

3. THAT SAME DAY, JULY 10, WHILE KISSINGER WAS BUSY THINK-ING ABOUT ENERGY PROBLEMS, ARMS CONTROL AND TWO FORTH-COMING SPEECHES--ON THE UNITED NATIONS AND ON MORALITY IN
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FOREIGN POLICY--THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT, AS REQUIRED BY

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LAW, INFORMED CONGRESS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PLAN TO

SELL JORDAN 14 BATTERIES OF SOPHISTICATED HAWK GROUND-TO-AIR MISSILES.

4. THE DISCLOSURE TOUCHED OFF A TREMENDOUS STORM THAT FORCED THE ADMINISTRATION TO PULL BACK FROM A VOTE, SOURED RELATIONS WITH THE MOST MODERATE OF THE ARAB STATES, LEFT ISRAEL FEELING DECEIVED, AND MADE SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WONDER IF THE LEFT HAND KNOWS WHAT THE RIGHT HAND IS DOING IN THIS GOVERNMENT.

5. THERE IS UNANIMITY NOW ON ONLY ONE POINT, A REFRAIN HEARD AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT AND ON CAPITOL HILL: IT WAS NOT THE MOST BRILLIANTLY HANDLED OPERATION.

6. THERE IS ALSO THE SUGGESTION THAT IF KISSINGER HAD BEEN MINDING THE STORE INSTEAD OF TRYING TO RUN THE STATE DEPARTMENT FROM AN AIRPLANE, HE OR ONE OF HIS CHIEF AIDES MIGHT JUST POSSIBLY HAVE BEEN ABLE TO LIMIT THE DAMAGE--BY INTERCEDING WITH THE JORDANIANS, OR WITH THE ISRAELIS, OR BOTH, TO PREVENT THE DEBACLE.

7. BUT KISSINGER ADMITS HE WAS TAKEN BY SURPRISE. HE TOLD THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE IN CLOSED

SESSION JULY 24 THAT HE DID NOT KNOW THE NOTIFICATION TO CONGRESS WAS TO COVER THE ENTIRE $350 MILLION AIR DEFENSE DEAL, INCLUDING THE 14 HAWK MISSILE BATTERIES, WORKED OUT WITH JORDAN. HE THOUGHT THE NOTIFICATION WOULD COVER ONLY THE FIRST INSTALLMENT, THE THREE BATTERIES AT $100 MILLION TO BE DELIVERED WITHIN 15 MONTHS. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT HE KNEW THE MAGNITUDE OF THE ENTIRE PACKAGE NEGOTIATED DURING KING HUSSEIN'S VISIT HERE IN APRIL.

8. THAT "MISUNDERSTANDING," AS KISSINGER DESCRIBED IT, APPARENTLY PREVAILED AMONG ALL THE TOP OFFICIALS SURROUNDING HIM, INCLUDING SISCO AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE ALFRED L. (ROY) ATHERTON.
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9. ATHERTON, IN FACT, WHO HAS A DESERVED REPUTATION AS A MAN OF HONOR, INFORMED THE ISRAELIS DURING THE FIRST WEEK OF MAY THAT JORDAN WOULD BE RECEIVING THREE HAWK MISSILE BATTERIES. HE WAS TALKING ABOUT THE FIRST INCREMENT, AND STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAID IT WAS MADE CLEAR THAT THERE WOULD BE FOLLOW-ON DELIVERIES.

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10. THE ISRAELIS, HOWEVER, REMEMBER ONLY THE MENTION OF THREE BATTERIES. IF ATHERTON SAID ANYTHING ABOUT FOLLOW-ON DELIVERIES, THEY SAY, IT DIDN'T REGISTER, BECAUSE THE ISRAELIS WERE ENRAGED ABOUT THE MERE FACT OF A NEW ARMS PACKAGE GOING TO JORDAN. TO THEM, THIS WAS

CONTRARY TO TERMS THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAD ITSELF SET IN ANNOUNCING A REASSESSMENT OF MIDDLE EAST POLICY--THAT THERE WOULD BE NO NEW ARMS COMMITMENTS. IN FACT, A LETTER OF OFFER FOR LANCE MISSILES, SURFACE-TO-SURFACE MISSILES WITH A RANGE OF ABOUT 100 MILES, FOR ISRAEL HAD ALREADY BEEN SENT TO CONGRESS. HOWEVER, THE ADMINISTRATION DECIDED NOT TO ACT ON IT DURING THE REASSESSMENT.

11. IN INFORMING CONGRESS ABOUT THE OFFER OF 14 HAWK MISSILE BATTERIES, THE PENTAGON WAS ONLY FOLLOWING STANDARD OPERATING PROCEDURE, SOURCES THERE SAY.

12. THE WHITE HOUSE HAD SENT DOWN THE ORDER TO SELL THIS KIND OF AIR DEFENSE SYSTEM TO JORDAN AND THE DEFENSE SECURITY ASSISTANCE AGENCY PREPARED THE NECESSARY PAPERS. AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT IT WAS INITIALED AT THE DESK LEVEL. KISSINGER WAS OUT OF TOWN, ONE OFFICIAL OBSERVED. BUT THERE SEEMED NO REASON TO SEEK HIGHER AUTHORITY BECAUSE THE DEAL HAD ALREADY BEEN APPROVED AND THIS HAS BEEN A LONG STANDING SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP WITH JORDAN.

13. THERE WAS NO WAY THAT THEY COULD SEND CONGRESS NOTICE OF AN OFFER COVERING ONLY THE FIRST DELIVERIES, PENTAGON SOURCES SAY, BECAUSE TO ARRANGE CONTRACTS , FINANCING AND TO MEET ASSEMBLY LINE REQUIREMENTS IT WAS NECESSARY TO GET A GO-AHEAD ON THE ENTIRE DEAL.

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14. IT IS THIS KIND OF NITTY-GRITTY OF THE ARMS SALES BUSINESS THAT CERTAIN HIGH STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS RUEFULLY ADMIT THEY HAVE NOT CUSTOMARILY CONCERNED THEM-SELVES WITH. THEY SAY THEY WILL BE MORE ATTENTIVE IN THE FUTURE.

15. OFFICIALS INSIST THERE WAS NO INTENTION TO DECEIVE, NO ATTEMPT TO CONCEAL THE NATURE OF THE DEAL. BUT THE MOMENT NOTIFICATION OF THE LETTER OF OFFER WENT UP TO CONGRESS THERE WAS AN UPROAR FROM AN ISRAELI LOBBYING GROUP, THE AMERICAN-ISRAELI PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE. ON JULY 11 SEN. CLIFFORD P. CASE (R-N.J.) INTRODUCED A RESOLUTION TO DISAPPROVE THE SALE. REP. JONATHANB. BINGHAM (D-N.Y.) INTRODUCED A SIMILAR BILL IN THE HOUSE ON JULY 14. UNDER THE LAW CONGRESS HAS 20 DAYS TO

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DISAPPROVE SALES EXCEEDING $25 MILLION. UNLESS BOTH HOUSES DISAPPROVE, THE DEAL CAN GO THROUGH.

16. IN HEARINGS IT EMERGED THAT THE UNANIMOUS RECOMMENDATION OF THE JOINT CHIEFS OF STAFF WAS THAT SIX HAWK

MISSILE BATTERIES WOULD BE ADEQUATE FOR JORDANIAN DEFENSE. FORMER CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS ADM. ELMO R. ZUMWALT JR. SAID MORE THAN THAT WOULD SHIFT THE MILITARY BALANCE AND MAKE IT INEVITABLE FOR JORDAN TO BE DRAWN INTO ANY NEW MIDDLE EAST CONFLICT.

17. PENTAGON OFFICIALS LATER EXPLAINED THAT THE RECOMMENDATION FOR SIX BATTERIES WAS IN THE CONTEXT OF OTHER MISSILES AND SUPPORTING EQUIPMENT, A PACKAGE DEVISED TO MEET JORDAN'S ABILITY TO PAY. WHEN IT BECAME CLEAR THAT SAUDI ARABIA WAS PREPARED TO PAY FOR JORDAN'S AIR DEFENSE, HUSSEIN OPTED FOR THE MORE EXPENSIVE HAWK AND REQUESTED 22 BATTERIES.

28. A HAWK BATTERY CONSISTS OF SIX LAUNCHERS, EACH ACCOMMODATING THREE SURFACE-TO-AIR MISSILES AND SUPPORTING RADAR EQUIPMENT.

19. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAY HUSSEIN ARGUED THAT THE SYRIANS WERE PRESSING SOVIET WEAPONS ON HIM; HIS ARMY UNCLASSIFIED

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KNEW ABOUT IT AND WOULD THINK ONLY SIX FROM THE UNITED STATES INADEQUATE.

20. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS SAID THE NUMBER OF 14 BATTERIES WAS ARRIVED AT IN NEGOTIATION, A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE SIX RECOMMENDED BY THE PENTAGON AFTER A TEAM WENT TO JORDAN IN FEBRUARY, AND THE REQUEST FROM HUSSEIN.

21. THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, ON JULY 24, REJECTED THE PROPOSED SALE. IN THE FACE OF ALMOST CERTAIN DEFEAT IN THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE THE ADMINISTRATION ON JULY 28 POSTPONED ACTION.

22. THE ADMINISTRATION'S HOPE IS THAT TEMPERS WILL COOL

AND SOME WAY CAN BE FOUND TO MEET THE COMMITMENT TO JORDAN--HUSSEIN IS INSISTING HE WILL NOT COMPROMISE ON FEWER THAN 14 BATTERIES--AND ALSO WIN CONGRESSIONAL APPROVAL, TWO GOALS THAT CONTRADICT AT THE MOMENT. IT IS APPARENTLY HOPED THAT IF AN ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN INTERIM AGREEMENT CAN BE NEGOTIATED, AND IF ARMS START FLOWING AGAIN TO ISRAEL, OPPOSITION WILL DIMINISH. FOR THE TIME

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BEING, HOWEVER, THE ADMINISTRATION SAYS IT WILL CONTINUE TO SUBMIT THE SAME LETTER OF OFFER THROUGHOUT THE CONGRESSIONAL RECESS, WITH THE PROMISE THAT CONGRESS WILL HAVE 20 DAYS TO RECONSIDER THE ISSUE IN SEPTEMBER.

23. THE AMERICAN-ISRAELI PUBLIC AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

WELCOMED THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO PULL BACK FROM A CONFRONTATION. OFFICIALS THERE WERE CLEARLY CONGRATULATING THEMSELVES ON A VICTORY, BUT ALSO SOUGHT TO STRESS THAT THEY DID NOT IN PRINCIPLE OPPOSE THE SENDING OF ARMS TO JORDAN.

24. JORDANIAN PRIME MINISTER ZAID RIFAI ALSO DECLARED VICTORY IN ANNOUNCING THE ADMINISTRATION'S DECISION TO "POSTPONE THE VOTE." RIFAI, ON JORDANIAN RADIO, SAID: "IT IS KNOWN THAT THE ZIONIST ATTEMPTS WERE AIMED AT CANCELLATION OF THE ENTIRE DEAL OR AT LEAST A REDUCTION IN THE NUMBER OF THE BATTERIES OF MODERN HAWK MISSILES
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FROM 14 TO SIX. HOWEVER, HIS MAJESTY KING HUSSEIN'S COURAGEOUS STAND REJECTING ANY COMPROMISE AND INSISTING

THAT THE DEAL BE IMPLEMENTED IN FULL PREVENTED THIS."

25. SEN. GAYLORD NELSON (D-WIS.), WHO SPONSORED THE LAW GIVING CONGRESS A VETO POWER OVER FOREIGN MILITARY SALES, ALSO DECLARED VICTORY. THE "WITHDRAWAL" OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S PROPOSAL DEMONSTRATED THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE LAW, HE SAID. "THIS REPRESENTS A SIGNIFICANT STEP IN THE ASSERTION OF CO;GRESS' PROPER ROLE IN FOREIGN POLICY," NELSON SAID.

26. OF ALL THE PARTIES INVOLVED, ONLY THE ADMINISTRATION ADMITS TO SUFFERING A DEFEAT. (END TEXT) INGERSOLL

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PRESS COMMENTS, MILITARY ASSISTANCE, FOREIGN RELATIONS, POLICIES, TOSEC, MISSILES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 31 JUL 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: n/a
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
Disposition Date: 01 JAN 1960
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975STATE181231
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: BROSHCO:JC
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750265-0052
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t1975072/aaaaabxq.tel
Line Count: 263
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PA
Original Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: n/a
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: hartledg
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 23 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 APR 2003 by ThomasVJ>; APPROVED <05 FEB 2004 by hartledg>
Review Markings:

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Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: PRESS MATERIAL
TAGS: SOPN, PFOR, XF, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 06 JUL 2006